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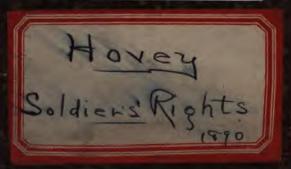
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SOLDIERS' RIGHTS.

AN APPEAL

---ТО---

The Loyal People of the United States and their Representatives in Congress.

---BY---

ALVIN P. HOVEY,
President of the Service Pension Association of U. S. A.

Indianapolis, November, 1889.

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SOLDIERS' RIGHTS.

AN APPEAL

-TO-

The Loyal People of the United Statés and Their Representatives in Congress.

Elected President of the Service Pension Association of the United States, by the veterans attending the Grand Army of the Republic, at St. Louis, in 1887, I deem it to be my duty to present a few dispassionate facts for the consideration of the loyal people of the United States, who are now enjoying all the blessings of a great, a free, and a united Nation.

That the loyal soldiers and sailors of the United States by their patriotism, suffering and valor, secured and established these blessings, will not be denied by any honest and candid man, friend or foe.

Such being the admitted fact, what are the just rights of the survivors of that unparalleled conflict?

They now claim no other rights than have been heretofore honestly and patriotically given to their fathers, who served our country as soldiers and sailors, and it seems to me that loyal mén can not conscientiously deny or refuse their just demand.

At this time I shall only discuss their right to

A PENSION FOR LIFE,

And I shall engraft liberally from my speeches heretofore made in Congress, without quotation. Under this head I do not include pensions for disabilities. They should remain where the law now places them, or be raised to a just or higher amount; but I mean that every man who has served in the late war for sixty days, and has an honorable discharge, should be pensioned for life, according to the resolutions of the Grand Army of the Republic, as hereinafter more particularly set forth. Pensions should be granted, not for the support of the pensioner alone, but as a badge of distinction for past services. Like the Victoria Cross, or the French Cordon of Honor, they should be the evidence of bravery, loyalty and service for our country, and no man should be compelled to claim it as a pauper. The history of pensions in the United States commenced at the dawn of our republic, with our revolutionary fathers.

WASHINGTON ON LIFE PENSIONS.

A committee of our Army in 1778 called upon Washington and made known their demands and sufferings. In his address to them he replied:

"It is not indeed consistent with reason or justice to expect that one set of men should make a sacrifice of property, domestic ease and happiness, encounter the rigors of the field, the perils and vicissitudes of war, to obtain those blessings which every citizen will enjoy in common with them, without some adequate compensation. It must also be a comfortless reflection to any man that after he may have contributed to securing the rights of his country, at the risk of life and the ruin of his fortune, there would be no provision made to prevent himself and family from sinking into indigence and wretchedness."—Journal of Congress, volume 4, page 211.

Nearly five years after this, March 18, 1783, Washington again made an effort to have justice done to the officers and soldiers who had fought with him in the Revolution. In his communication to the President of the Continental Congress he said:

"For if besides the simple payment of their wages a further compensation is not due to the sufferings and sacrifices of the officers, then have I been mistaken indeed. If the whole army have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then I have been beguiled by prejudice and built opinion on the basis of error. If this country should not in the event perform everything which has been requested in the late memorial to Congress, then will my belief become vain and the hope

that has been excited void of foundation. And if, as has been suggested for the purpose of influencing their passions, 'the officers of the army are to be the only sufferers in the Revolution;' if retiring from the field they are to grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt; if they are to wade through the vile mire of despondency and owe the miserable remnants of their life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honor, then shall I have learned what ingratitude is; then shall I have realized a tale which will embitter every moment of my future life. But I am under no such apprehensions. A country rescued by their arms from impending ruin will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude."—Spark's Writings of Washington, volume 8, page

397; 4 Journal of Congress, pages 210, 211.

What answer can be made by loyal men to such a noble feeling and patriotic appeal for justice and mercy by the Father of our country? Does not every word appeal with double force for the soldiers and sailors of the United States, who saved our free institutions by their sufferings and valor in the late rebellion? If Washington had said or written nothing else, his noble words should endear him to every man who has offered his life to preserve the liberties of our country. Great, magnificent, noble and large-souled hero; how some men have dwindled who would follow in thy footsteps! Under these vigorous recommendations Congress passed several acts for the relief of the army. Officers and privates were pensioned for life at half-pay, although the treasury was absolutely empty and our credit so low that money could not be borrowed in Europe. Above all other claims the rights of the soldiers of the Revolution were held most sacred by our fathers.

I need not follow the original States, and Congress, in their loyal and generous legislation in favor of the soldiers and sailors who had served our country. The soldiers of the Revolution, of the War of 1812-'15, with France, with Tripoli, with Mexico, with all our Indian wars, were generously given lands by millions of acres, and pensions for life. For those who fought last, in the rebellion and unnatural conflict of 1861-'65, lands and life pensions have been refused, with billions of acres of public domain, and a surplus in our treasury that the ingenuity of our statesmen has been unable to exhaust!

What is the cause of this niggardly and parsimonious conduct of our Representatives in Congress?

I can attribute it to nothing but envy, hatred and the greed of gain. The banks of deposit of the United States, which now hold over forty-five million dollars, without paying interest, do not want the deposits removed for any purpose. The shipping interest of the Eastern States are clamoring for more ships and "subsides" to be paid by the Government. The river and harbor log-rollers in Congress are devising schemes for combining and swallowing up many millions to enrich themselves or their constituents. The people of the rebelling States do not want the men who conquered them on the battle fields of the late rebellion rewarded for their loyalty, and are striving by every means to lessen our revenues, so that pensions can not be paid, and throwing every obstacle in the way to the granting. of the 160 acres bounty, which was freely granted by Congress to every soldier who had served one day in battle or fourteen days in the army before the rebellion of 1861. These are some of the main causes of obstruction to liberal action by Congress in favor of our veterans.

Petitions by veterans with hundreds of thousands of names have been sent to Congress, and have been buried in the cellars of the Capitol unread, although the Constitution declares that "the right to petition shall remain inviolate."

G. A. R. RESOLUTIONS.

At the Twenty-second National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, at Columbus, Ohio, September, 1888, the following resolutions were passed:

- "I. Resolved, That it is the sense of this Encampment that the time has come when the soldiers and sailors of the war for the preservation of the Union should receive the substantial and merited recognition of the Government by granting them service pensions in accordance with established usage; and further,
- II. Resolved, That this Encampment favors the presentation of a bill to Congress which will give to every soldier, sailor and marine who served in the Army or Navy of the United States between April, 1861, and July, 1865, for the period of sixty days or more, a service pension of eight dollars per month, and

to all who served a period exceeding eight hundred days, an additional amount of one cent per day for each day's service exceeding that period.

- III. Your committee also earnestly advocate the passage of a bill placing the widows of Union soldiers, sailors and marines on the pension list without regard to the time of the service or the cause of the soldier's death.
- IV. And your committee further report that we do not withdraw our repeated approval of the bill now before Congress, which was proposed and endorsed by the National Pension Committee of the Grand Army, known as the disability pension bill.

SAM'L M. WEALE,
WARNER MILLER,
R. W. BLUE,
D. N. FOSTER,
JACOB GRAY,
JNO. S. WOOLSON,
A. L. CONGER,
FRANK SEAMAN,
ORRIN A. REYNOLDS,
JAMES H. PURDY,
SAM'L W. K. ALLEN."

At the next meeting the number of the Grand Army of the Republic had increased to 425,000, and their delegates at Milwaukee on the 30th of August, 1889, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the action of the Twenty-second National Encampment upon pension matters is reaffirmed, and that the Pension Committee of the Grand Army of the Republic be instructed to pursue all possible means to secure legislation in accordance therewith."

Many objections have been urged why the United States should not comply with these resolutions.

What can pay our veterans for their sacrifices? Many of them have stood nearly one hundred days in battle, in the rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon. What amount of money could induce you or even one of them to pass again under such a fiery ordeal?

PITIFUL PENSIONS.

We are flippantly told that our pension laws are ample and the most beneficent in the world, and that no ex-soldier has the right to find the least fault with the generosity and paternal care of our Government.

Yes, we have pension laws where the red-tape appendages, employes and machinery alone, not including any pensions, cost our Government \$1,325,000 to dole out a pittance that would starve a dog, to thousands of helpless men, widows and orphans. Besides this, last year the pensioners paid attorneys' fees \$1,363,583.47!

We ought to be ashamed of our niggardly legislation, for our nation is too great for such pitiful parsimony. The one hundred and fifty-one rounds in the Jacob's ladder which leads the veterans to the Pension Department, are simply ridiculous.

I have read where the noble Brutus proposed to "coin his heart and drop his blood for drachmas," but it was reserved for our Solons, who framed our pension laws, to measure the value of our veterans' blood by the fraction of one copper cent!

Only think of the blood and wounds of our soldiers being valued at \$2.12½ per month; at \$2.66¾ per month; \$4.66¾ per month. The fraction of one copper cent by halves and thirds being set apart in fifteen of the one hundred and fifty-one grades to our maimed, broken-down and wounded soldiers! These wise men must have had Shylock's famous "balance" to weigh their brother's blood, and after they had weighed the blood they must have examined every wound with a strong political microscope before they could figure pensions down to the fraction of one copper cent!

General Black, Commissioner of Pensions, by his last report, in June, 1887, shows that there were then on the pension rolls 1,131 persons who received \$1 per month, 30,823 who received \$2 per month, and 65,946 who received \$4 per month, and on the pension-rolls there are over 100,000 persons who are now receiving $3\frac{1}{3}$ to 13 cents a day, and over 220,000 of the brokendown, maimed, wounded and invalid pensioners, receiving an amount that will not average 18 cents a day for each of said pensioners; not enough to feed them on "hard-tack and sow belly!" What magnificent generosity from a government that

has been saved and preserved by their valor, their sufferings, and their blood! These are some of the pensions about which we hear such loud and bombastic boastings.

We are tauntingly told that our ex-soldiers should be more than thankful, and that no nation in the world can show such a grand total of pensioners. No, and why? What wars in history can compare with our terrible rebellion? Many of the dark-haired boys of to-day can not realize, like their gray-haired fathers, that our war lasted four years with an army of 2,859,132 men in the field. They have never learned that in that war more battles were fought and more men slain and wounded than in any war recorded in the pages of reliable history. These verdant orators and scribblers only need a little more loyalty to the stars and stripes and a little more humanity and intelligence to bring them to their senses.

ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO PAY LIFE PENSIONS.

Again, it is dogmatically alleged that our Government is not able to pay the large sums of money that a service pension, either per diem or \$8 a month, would require. There are about 1,000,000 surviving soldiers, and no doubt the amount would seem large to the great mass of our people, when compared with the ordinary transactions of private life, but it is by no means alarming when we consider the vast resources and income of our Government.

Our income now exceeds \$379,266,074.66 per annum, or more than \$1,000,000 for every day in the year. For the purpose of more fully understanding the resources and ability of our Government to pay large sums of money I will refer to our expenditures during the war period, from 1861 to 1865, both inclusive:

1861	\$85,387,313 05
1862	565,667,563 74
1863	899,815,911 25
1864	1,295,541,114 86
1865	1,906,433,331 37
Total	\$4,752,845,234 27

Being not far from one billion or one thousand millions a year. Of the foregoing amount the War and Navy were as follows:

	WAR.		NAVY.	
1861	\$23,001,530 389,173,562 603,314,411 690,391,048 1,030,690,400	29 82 66	\$12,387,156 42,640,353 63,261,235 86,704,963 122,617,434	09 31 74
Total	\$2,736,570,953	50	\$326,611,142	73

RECAPITULATION.

War	\$2,736,570,953	50
Navy	326,611,142	73
Total	\$3,063,182,096	23

Our expenditures, including 1861 and 1865, for 1,825 days, amounted to \$2,604,298.75 daily.

At the close of the war in September, 1865, our national debt amounted to nearly \$3,000,000,000, or, more accurately speaking, \$2,757,689,751, and we are now informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that that vast sum has been reduced within twenty-four years to \$1,625,521,576.63. Still leaving in the Treasury, cash, \$708,650,497.42 by the last October report. I am one who can not clearly understand that "a national debt is a national blessing," but I am fully convinced that an overflowing surplus in our Treasury is a national curse. It begets wanton extravagance, corruption and frauds, and stagnates the very life-blood of commerce. It is the stimulating cause of the wildest kind of legislation. All kinds of bills are presented to Congress. One wants the rivers in his district straightened and deepened; another wants the mud dredged out of the shallow bays in the lakes or ocean bordering on the lands of his constituency. Others would levy or embank the Mississippi River fifty feet high from Cairo to the

Gulf of Mexico. Others would swell the ocean with iron and steel-clad ships of war, and some would pay large subsidies to merchant vessels to carry and peddle our wares and merchandise among the nations of the earth, and then again there are others who would cut great ship canals to connect the Lakes, the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence Rivers, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean.

There are other claims that should be preferred to any of these schemes, however wise or visionary they may be, and in my opinion our ex-soldiers' and sailors' rights rise far above them all. If we had to even duplicate our national debt, the soldiers, like the bondholders, should be fully paid, and they should, for the short remnant of their shattered lives, be placed far above the confines of the poor house. We were told by a United States Senator a few months ago that there are now in the poor-houses of this country and receiving charity more than twenty-eight thousand of our ex-soldiers! A full army corps! Within ten short years the most of all that gallant host who marched to victory will have passed away, and our great and prosperous nation "will know them no more forever." Even the names of all our officers except a few may straggle a little way down the narrow and barren lane of history, but the great mass, like the dreams of bygone years, will be no longer remembered.

What great relief the vast surplus would have given to many of our veterans, had it been appropriated for life pensions! It would have fallen for them, like the manna in the wilderness in ancient days! It would not only have given food, but raiment to thousands of heroes, who have passed away in want and penury, and, coming through their hands, it would have stimulated and encouraged every branch of labor and commerce.

But one of our distinguished Christian generals in a recent speech has said: "Wait until the year 1915, and then the Government can grant life pensions!" Wait, only wait twenty six years more, gray-haired veterans, and then—you may have your long delayed rights! Have patience, suffer, struggle, some of you may possibly survive until that glorious day arrives, and then be a little under one hundred years old! I have no patience with such inhumanity and injustice.

OUR DEBT OF HONOR.

There is another view which I wish to present. What do we honestly owe the ex-solder? Not in gratitude alone, for payments in that coin are very uncertain in quantity and quality, but what does our nation honestly and honorably owe him on the basis of man dealing with his fellow-man?

PROMISES TO VOLUNTEERS.

The promises that were held out to our volunteers will not be denied or forgotten. As an inducement to join the Army promises were made by the press, by proclamation, by the orators of the day, and the people, pledging them all that their fathers had enjoyed before them. When they returned home they were to have land-warrants for 160 acres. Every volunteer was to be pensioned for life, like his revolutionary fathers, and the soldiers of the war of 1812, and he was assured from the country cross road bar-room to the sacred pulpit that if he fell in battle his family should become the wards of the Nation, and that no soldier's wife or child should suffer. All this and more was promised.

To assure him of his pay, in September, 1861, General Scott, then Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, addressed his soldiers by his famous Order No. 16:

"GENERAL ORDER No. 16.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON, September 3, 1861.

The General-in-Chief is happy to announce that the Treasury Department, to meet the payment of the troops, is about to supply, besides coin, as heretofore, Treasury notes, in fives, tens and twenties, as good as gold, to all banks and Government offices throughout the United States, and most convenient for transmission, by mail, from officers and men to their families at home. Good husbands, fathers, sons and brothers, serving under the Stars and Stripes, will thus soon have a ready and safe means of relieving an immense amount of suffering,

which could not be relieved in coin. In making up such packages, every officer may be relied upon, no doubt, for such assistance as may be needed by his men.

By Command of Lieutenant General Scott.

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant-General."

Non-combatants may have forgotten all these promises and inducements, but the soldier and the soldier's widow and orphans have not. I need not stop to ask honest men how these promises have been fulfilled. No land-warrant of 160 acres for the soldier, no pension like his father's, and instead of General Scott's paper, that was to be "good as gold," he was paid in depreciated "greenbacks," which were not worth, on an average, sixty cents on the dollar. This he was compelled to accept or receive nothing. He could not leave the army and return home, for desertion in time of war meant dishonor and death. After he was mustered into the service he was compelled to serve or die, payment or no payment, although his depreciated greenbacks would not buy the bread for his wife at home or clothe his cold and ill clad children.

What a great change has taken place as to the rights of our soldiers!

RIGHTS OF SOLDIERS BEFORE THE REBELLION.

For one day in battle or fourteen days' service in the Army our soldiers, by acts of Congress passed before 1861, were each allowed a land warrant of 160 acres; but the soldier now of four years' service and a hundred days in battle, by the grace of Congress, remains landless. And why? Not for the lack of public domain, for it is well known, as it was sung at the meetings to rally our volunteers, that "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm."

The unsold public domain to-day is larger in area than the thirteen original States, and amounts to more than 1,000,000,000 acres. Do not excuse yourselves by saying that the lands are worthless. If they are, the Government will lose nothing, and the soldiers will fully understand your motives if you give or refuse their just demands. The patent to them alone will be a patent of nobility, whether spread upon a prairie of flowers or a barren mountain peak, for it will be an acknowledgment

to them and their children of loyalty and honorable service; and if they can not find lands that suit them they can frame their warrants and hang them in their houses as heirlooms for their posterity. They will be highly prized at no distant day and pointed to with pride. Do not deceive yourselves, gentlemen, nor imagine that your motives are not fully understood. Do not let greed, politics and a "solid South" make you forget the promises that have been made to our ex-soldiers. Remember the money or greenbacks you paid them is not the money with which you paid the bondholders. Do not forget the rewards paid their fathers for one day in battle or fourteen days' service in the army.

Can our now proud and prosperous nation trample on her soldiers and sailors of the late rebellion and forget or refuse the fulfillment of these pledges and promises? Can our omnipotent committees close the doors of legislation and refuse to report their bills for justice and relief, or by delay cut off all argument and debate?

COMPARISON WITH EUROPEAN ARMIES.

We are constantly referred to Europe for comparison of our pension and military departments. We are told that ours is far more expensive than theirs. That depends upon the manner in which the estimates are made. The standing armies of Europe in times of peace are now larger than they have ever been before. By the Encyclopædia Britannica (and you know encyclopædias have lately become very useful and of high authority) the standing armies in Europe in times of peace are estimated as follows: Great Britain, 190,000 officers and men; France, 450,000 officers and men; German Empire, 400,000 officers and men; Russia, 750,000 officers and men; Austria and Hungary, 275,000 officers and men; Italy, 200,000 officers and men. But we know that since the publication of that encyclopædia the standing armies of France, Germany and Russia all exceed more than 700,000 men each in what they call their "standing armies in times of peace." Now, basing the costs of those armies on the value of human labor and the necessary appliances and munitions for their use and establishment, and estimating such labor at \$1 per day, such standing armies would cost annually more than the income of our Government. I admit that no such figures are found in their estimates and

accounts; but when we compare them with our expenditures we forget the relative cost of labor and the munitions of war in Europe and in this country. We know such armies here, valuing the services of soldiers and all necessary expenses, would far exceed our revenue.

But we are relieved of all these heavy European burdens by a wise provision of our Constitution. By the eighth section, article I, Congress is shorn of the power to make provision or appropriations for such an army. Our standing army is composed of our citizen soldiers, and may be found in the fields of agriculture, in our manufactories, in our mines, in the shops of our mechanics, embracing all our laborers, merchants, business and professional men. They cost our Government nothing as soldiers in times of peace, and are only paid when called into active service. We thus avoid the vast expenditures which are borne by the governments of Europe. Can we not be more than liberal to the men who voluntarily left their homes to serve their country under such a system?

It can no longer be denied that the United States stands first among the nations of the world. Compared with Great Britain, Germany, Russia and France, our Republic is far in advance of either, and has more wealth and productive power than can be found in any other nation in the world.

When the war commenced our population was about 31,000,000; at this time it is over sixty-three! The actual wealth of the Nation has more than quadrupled, and our credit is unsurpassed by any nation on the face of the globe. At the commencement of the rebellion the revenue of the United States was \$41,476,299.49; in 1888 it amounted to \$379,266,074.76, being over NINE times as great as when the war commenced.

WHISKY AND TOBACCO TAX.

Our revenue on distilled spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco for the year ending June 30, 1889, was \$129,903,901, an amount greater than would be necessary to pay 1,000,000 pensioners \$8 a month, under the Grand Army resolutions, and defray all other expenses of the Pension Department. These taxes are pre-eminently war taxes, against which all Southern Congressmen are arrayed. Strike these taxes out and all pensions must fall.

It can not be said that the revenue derived from whiskey and

tobacco is an unjust tax upon the people of the United States. The use of both is vicious, and whether they can be called a luxury or a vice, they will, in all probability, be used to the same extent whether a revenue shall be derived from them or not.

The present revenue laws are ample to provide for all expenses of the Government, and meet the full payment of all pensions embraced in the resolutions of the Grand Army of the Republic without further taxation.

THE BOYS.

Of the 2,859,132 men who gallantly filled the ranks of our loyal army from 1861 to 1865 at least one-third were boys, or men under twenty-one years of age. They had not fully matured, nor had they learned professions, trades or callings to prepare them for the realities of life. They were rushed forward in the whirl of a rapid, continuous march, and into the rattle of musketry and the roar of battle. Those who were fortunate enough to return alive were greeted as heroes for a few short days, but they soon found that their habits, acquired in the army, had unfitted them to compete with their brothers at home in the industries and arts of trades and commerce. Their kindred had become wealthy, whilst many of the poor boys found themselves outrun in the race of life, and that their army education had unfitted them to struggle for a living amongst their less warlike neighbors.

Men born after 1850 know little or nothing of the real services and sufferings of our soldiers, and yet they are now controlling the elections of our country. This fact alone will compel the ex soldiers to unite or abandon all their rights, to which they are so justly entitled.

There can be no doubt that the great majority of the survivors of the army are now suffering from impaired and ruined constitutions. Many who were never touched by a ball are more seriously injured than some who have lost their limbs. Such proof is difficult to be made, and the Pension Department long since established that infamous rule unknown to the laws of any other civilized nation "that the soldier must prove his injuries or disabilities by two privates who were his comrades, or by a commissioned officer!" The man who carried a musket is only half of a witness, and must be corroborated by another private comrade or the applicant can not obtain his pension,

unless some officer who wore shoulder straps can testify in his favor! This rule is an insult to every private soldier who served in our army, and a disgrace to the men who devised it. The evidence of one private soldier can not be believed where a one-dollar disability pension is concerned, but his evidence alone, in the courts of the world, if believed, is sufficient to convict for any crime in the calendar. On his testimony a criminal may be hung, but it is not strong enough to enable his comrade to procure even a one-dollar pension! Verily, the evidence of a private soldier in the estimation of the Pension Department weighs but little in the scale of justice now! The day was when he was a hero, ranking, in public estimation, higher for his loyal and disinterested services than the "commissioned officer." The day was when he stood in the front of battle offering his life as a guarantor for the payment of a vast amount of money due the bondholders, for the world knew that our bonds would be worthless unless the United States could conquer and suppress that unholy rebellion.

"How are the mighty fallen!"

From the facts presented, every fair and loyal man must be satisfied that pensions for life, according to the resolutions of the Grand Army of the Republic, could be given to every surviving soldier and sailor without the least injury to our government or people. The burden would be felt by none.

ADVICE TO COMRADES.

Comrades, all your petitions have remained unread in Congress, and have and will be buried in the cellars of the Capitol! The resolutions of the Grand Army of the republic have been unheeded and ignored, and as one who was with you, I know your services, your sufferings and your rights, and claim the privilege of offering a few words of advice.

Send no Representative to Congress who will not honestly and earnestly support your just claims and demands; send no one who is so stupid, blind or prejudiced, that he can not see and understand them, and be sure you send no one who will not contend for your honor and your rights, with as much loyalty and zeal as you fought for the preservation of the Union; and you should send neither laggards nor cowards for your representatives, for they do not belong to your ranks.

The disloyal will howl for every dollar the government may pay you, and a large part of a subsidized and partizan presswill teem with articles of abuse against you, your advocates and your rights. Stand firm, close your ranks and meet the charge of your enemies again, and though you may have only a few short years left on your furlough of life, you will once more be victorious and conquer.

ALVIN P. Hovry,
President S. P. A.

Indianapolis, November 25, 1889.

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Please read this Appeal in your G. A. R Post.



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